

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 H-03 NSC-07 SS-20 EB-11 OMB-01 IO-14 OIC-04

AEC-11 DRC-01 /172 W

----- 045004

R 111229Z APR 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2458

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 3267

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: REPORT OF AD HOC GROUP MEETING APRIL 8

1. SUMMARY: THE AHG MEETING ADDRESSED BILATERALS (IN WHICH CANADIAN REP REPORTED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD CLAIMED TO A CANADIAN COLLEAGUE THAT THE WEST WAS MOVING TOWARDS ACCEPTANCE OF THE REDUCTION OF AIR AND NUCLEAR ELEMENTS); THE APRIL 5 AHG REPORT TO THE NAC (FULL REPORT USNATO 1903); THE APRIL 8 EAST/WEST INFORMAL SESSION (FULL REPORT SEPTTEL); THE WESTERN PLENARY PRESENTATION OF APRIL 9 (TEXT SEPTTEL), AND THE CHAIRMAN'S REPORT FOR APRIL 1-5. END SUMMARY.

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BILATERALS

2. THE CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) REPORTED THAT THE SOVIET REP HAD RECENTLY MET WITH THE CANADAIN AMBASSADOR TO AUSTRIA. IN THE COURSE OF THEIR DISUCSSION, THE SOVIET REP HAD REMARKED THAT THE SOVIET UNION COULD NOT ACCEPT THE REDUCTION OF GROUND FORCES ONLY, BUT MUST INSIST ON THE REDUCTION OF AIR AND NUCLEAR ELEMENTS AS WELL, AND THAT HE HAD BEEN GRATIFIED TO FIND THAT THE WESTERN SIDE APPEARED TO BE ACCEPTING THE EASTERN POSITION ON THIS POINT.

BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENESSEN) REMARKED THAT THIS ASSERTION PARALLELED AN ASSERTION PREVIOUSLY REPORTED WHICH A SOVIET DIPLOMAT HAD MADE IN BRUSSELS.

5 APRIL AHG REPORT TO THE NAC

3. THE US REP STATED THAT, AS SPOKESMAN FOR THE TEAM OF THE US, BELGIUM, AND TURKEY, HE HAD PRESENTED THE AHG REPORT TO THE NAC. IT WAS FAIR TO SAY THAT THE REPORT HAD BEEN WELL RECEIVED. US REP NOTED THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL AS WELL AS SEVERAL PERMANENT REPS COMMENDED THE AHG FOR MAINTAINING ALLIED COHESION. HE REPORTED THAT THE BELGIAN PERMANENT REP (DE STAERKE) HAD ESPECIALLY PRAISED THE REPORT'S DISCUSSION OF THE EASTERN SYMBOLIC PROPOSAL. THE BELGIAN PERMANENT REP HAD ALSO ASKED HOW LONG THE CURRENT ALLIED COUSE SHOULD BE MAINTAINED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE US REP HAD REPLIED THAT IT SHOULD BE MAINTAINED THROUGHOUT THE MONTH OF MAY, BUT THAT EARLY ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS WHICH THE AHG POSED WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL. THE BELGIAN PERMANENT REP ALSO PROPOSED THAT THE NAC SHOULD NOW TURN TO A SUBSTANTIVE STUDY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, ESPECIALLY OF HOW OPTION III SHOULD BE USED. THE US REP REPORTED THAT OTHER PERMANENT REPS AGREED THAT SUCH A STUDY WOULD BE PREMATURE, ALTHOUGH THE NAC MIGHT CONSIDER THE PROCEDURES WHICH WOULD BE EMPLOYED IN SUCH A STUDY WHILE NATIONAL CAPITALS CONTINUED TO LOOK AT THE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. THE TURKISH PERMANENT REP (ERALP) HAD REFERRRED TO THE BULGARIAN STATEMENT ON THE SECURITY OF THE FLANKS AND
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URGED THAT THE NAC SOON REACH A DECISION ON THIS ISSUE.

4. THE BELGIAN REP COMMENTED THAT THE US REP'S REPORT WAS ACCURATE AND NOTED THAT THE AHG REPORT TO THE NAC HAD BEEN REMARKABLY WELL RECEIVED. HE SAID THAT THIS SHOWED THAT A GOOD WORKING UNDERSTANDING HAD BEEN REACHED THE NAC AND THE AHG. HE SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THE AHG REPORT WOULD BE USEFUL IN SPURRING FUTURE SPC WORK,

FOR EXAMPLE ON THE NUCLEAR ISSUE. THE CANADIAN REP, WHO HAD BEEN PRESENT AT THE 5 APRIL NAC MEETING, SAID THAT HE COULD ENDORSE EVERYTHING THAT HAD BEEN SAID BY THE US AND BELGIAN REPS. THE AHG REPORT HAD BEEN WELL RECEIVED AND IT WAS MADE CLEAR THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE NATO ORGANS WOULD MEET THE DEADLINES SET FORTH IN THE AHG REPORT. WITH REGARD TO THE NUCLEAR ISSUE, THE CANADIAN REP NOTED THAT THE MILITARY COMMITTEE WAS STUDYING THIS ISSUE AND WAITING FOR NATIONAL CAPITALS TO PROVIDE THEIR INPUTS.

REPORT ON 8 APRIL EAST/WEST INFORMAL MEETING

5. THE AHG RECEIVED A VERBAL REPORT BY THE ATTENDEES AT THE INFORMAL SESSION OF THE MORNING OF APRIL 8, 1974 WITH THE EASTERN DELEGATES. THE UK REP (ROSE) OBSERVED THAT BY INFORMAL MEETING STANDARDS IT WAS A RELATIVELY SHORT MEETING OF APPROXIMATELY TWO HOURS. THE SUBJECT WAS THE DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES. THE UK REP NOTED THAT THE EASTERN DELEGATES KEPT TO THIS SUBJECT. THE SOVIET REP (KHLESTOV) HAD STARTED BY DISPUTING THE LIMITING OF THE SUBJECT OF THE INFORMAL SESSION TO GROUND FORCES AND SAID THE MEETING SHOULD COVER DEFINITIONS OF AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES AS WELL, BUT QUICKLY SETTLED DOWN TO DISCUSSING THE PREVIOUSLY AGREED TOPIC.

6. THE UK REP STATED THE DISCUSSION WAS GENERAL BUT THAT THE USSR REP SEEMED TO HAVE IN MIND APPROXIMATELY THE SAME DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES AS THAT CONTAINED IN ALLIED TALKING POINTS. SPECIFICALLY, THE UK REP NOTED THAT THE EASTERN DELEGATES DID NOT CONTEXT INDICISION OF EASTERN AIR DEFENSE FORCES IN ALLIED TOTALS. THE US REP COMMENTED THAT HE DID NOT THINK

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THAT THE SOVIET REP HAD A REAL APPRECIATION OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FACT THAT THE USSR, CZECH, AND POLISH AIR DEFENSE FORCES ARE INCLUDED IN NATO TOTAL GROUND FORCES. THE UK REP SAID THAT HE RAISED THE POINT THAT NATO HAS PROVIDED THE EAST WITH CERTAIN NUMBERS FOR DISUCSSION AND THAT THE REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTH SIDES WOULD HAVE TO TALK ABOUT DATA SOON. THE US REP COMMENTED THAT USSR REP APPEARED TO WANT FIRST TO RESOLVE THE ISSUES OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED AND SECONDLY WHAT ELEMENTS OF THESE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED BEFORE GOING ON TO DATA. THE US REP SAID THAT THE USSR REP MADE A POINT OF RECONGIZING THAT ANY REDUCTION ARRANGEMENTS WOULD HAVE TO BE ON THE BASIS OF

AGREED FIGURES, ALTHOUGH THESE FIGURES MIGHT NOT APPEAR IN A

REDUCTION AGREEMENT DOCUMENT.

7. THE UK REP COMMENTED THAT THE SOVIET REP HAD BROUGHT UP THE ISSUE OF CIVILIANS PERFORMING MILITARY FUNCTIONS ON THE NATO SIDE WHILE THESE FUNCTIONS ARE PERFORMED BY MILITARY TROOPS ON THE EASTERN SIDE. THE UK REP HAD RESPONDED THAT IT WAS

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NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 H-03 NSC-07 SS-20 EB-11 OMB-01 IO-14 OIC-04

AEC-11 SAM-01 DRC-01 /173 W

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R 111229Z APR 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2459

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

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FROM US REP MBFR

ALLIED INTENTION TO TALK ONLY ABOUT ARMED FORCES. THE ISSUE OF CIVILIANS WOULD MAKE NEGOTIATIONS FAR MORE COMPLEX AND RAISE THE QUESTION AS TO WHERE AND HOW TO DRAW THE LINE IN PERSONNEL. BOTH SIDES HAVE EXCLUDED PARA-MILITARY FORCES THOUGH THE EAST HAS CONSIDERABLY LARGER NUMBER. THE SOVIET REP DID NOT PURSUE THE ISSUE FURTHER.

8. THE UK REP STATED THAT IT HAD BEEN AGREED THAT THE SUBJECT FOR THE NEXT INFORMAL SESSIONS WOULD BE THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES ARE TO BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET AND THAT THE QUESTION OF THE DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES WOULD BE LEFT FOR A LATER TIME, POSSIBLY WHEN TECHNICAL EXPERTS CAN BE PRESENT.

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9. THE US REP AGREED BASICALLY WITH THE ASSESSMENT PROVIDED BY THE UK REP. HOWEVER, ON THE DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES, THE US REP STATED THAT THE SOVIET REP HAD INCLUDED ARMY AVIATION IN THEIR DEFINITIONS OF GROUND FORCES. THE US REP HAD ASKED IF THIS MEANT THAT THE SOVIET REP INCLUDED HELICOPTERS WITHIN THE GROUND FORCE TOTAL. THE SOVIET REP SAID HE COULD NOT ANSWER THIS PRECISELY AND WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT WITH HIS TECHNICAL EXPERTS. THE US REP CONCLUDED THAT THIS APPEARED TO BE THE ONLY REAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN DEFINITIONS OF GROUND FORCES AS DISCUSSED AT THIS INFORMAL SESSION.

10. THE CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) STATED THAT HE WAS THE ONE WHO HAD INITIATED THE DISCUSSION ON THE INCLUSION OF CIVILIANS AND THAT HE FELT THAT THE UK HAD RESPONDED VERY WELL. THE CANADIAN REP COMMENTED THAT THE SOVIET REP SPOKE MAINLY FROM TYPED NOTES AND REPEATEDLY MADE THE POINT THAT HE WOULD REQUIRE PRESENCE OF HIS TECHNICAL EXPERTS FOR DETAILED DISCUSSION OF DATA.

PLENARY STATEMENT OF 9 APRIL (TEXT SEPTTEL)

11. BELGIAN REP, IN ADDRESSING PARA 9 OF THE DRAFT, STATED THAT THE LAST SENTENCE SEEMED TO SUGGEST THAT BOTH SIDES WERE READY TO TAKE STEPS TOWARDS SEEKING SPECIFIC AGREAS OF AGREEMENT. HE QUESTIONED WHETHER THIS WOULD BE WISE IN VIEW OF THE SOVIET TENDENCY TO OVERSTATE ALLIED FLEXIBILITY AS EVIDENCED IN SOVIET STATEMENTS MADE TO THE BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY IN BRUSSELS TO THE CANADIAN AMB IN AUSTRIA. THE SECTION IN QUESTION WAS CHANGED ACCORDINGLY.

12. A LONG DISCUSSION TOOK PLACE OVER THE PASSAGE IN PARA 14 WHICH JUSTIFIED TREATING US AND SOVIET FORCES DIFFERENTLY FROM OTHERS. UK REP, ACKNOWLEDGING THAT HE WISHED TO OVERTURN A COMPROMISE REACHED BY THE GROUP ON APRIL 4 WHEN DISCUSSING THE OUTLINE FOR THE STATEMENT, OBJECTED TO PASSAGE READING "A REDUCTION AGREEMENT WOULD AFFECT ONLY A CERTAIN PORTION OF THE FORCES OF THE US AND USSR, AND EVEN SO, ONLY THE WITHDRAWAL OF THESE FORCES. BUT THE SITUATION OF THE OTHER WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IS AN ESSENTIALLY DIFFERENT ONE, FOR REASONS EXPLAINED BY MY GERMAN COLLEAGUE IN HIS

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PRESENTATION ON APRIL 4." UK REP OBJECTED THAT THIS ARGUMENT DID NOT JUSTIFY UK AND CANADIAN REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN PHASE I. HE WAS SUPPORTED BY CANADIAN REP AND FRG REP (BEHREND), THE LATTER ARGUING THAT THE FRG MIGHT WISH TO REDUCE IN WAYS LESS DRASTIC THAN WITHDRAWAL ACROSS THE ATLANTIC. NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) ARGUED FOR MAINTAINING THE PASSAGE, WHICH PRESENTED A STRONG ARGUMENT WHICH APPEARED TO HAVE WEIGHT WITH THE EAST; THE UK AND CANADIAN POSITION HAD BEEN COVERED FULLY BY THE APRIL 4 STATEMENT, WHICH WAS REFERRED TO. US REP ALSO SUPPORTED RETAINING THE PASSAGE. GROUP EVENTUALLY AGREED TO DELETE THE PHRASE REFERRING TO "WITHDRAWAL" OF FORCES.

13. WITH REGARD TO PARA 20, TURKISH ACTING REP (UNAN) PROPOSED THAT THE ALLIES DELETE THE WORDS "APPEAR TO" IN THE SENTENCE WHICH READS "...BOTH SIDES APPEAR TO AGREE ON THE CARDINAL IMPORTANCE OF STRENGTHENING THE SECURITY OF ALL NINETEEN PARTICIPANTS." THE NETHERLANDS REP STATED THAT ALTHOUGH THE EAST AND THE WEST MIGHT USE SIMILAR WORDS, IN FACT THEY MEAN QUITE DIFFERENT THINGS. ITALIAN ACTING REP (TALIANI) SUPPORTED THIS POINT, NOTING THAT THE WEST IS CERTAIN THAT THE EASTERN VIEW OF FLANK SECURITY DIFFERS SOMEWHAT FROM ITS OWN. THE WORDS "APPEAR TO" WERE RETAINED.

PRESS CONFERENCE FOR APRIL 10

14. THE AHG REVIEWED A DRAFT OF THE PRESS STATEMENT PREPARED FOR THE NETHERLANDS REP'S PRESS CONFERENCE ON APRIL 10. THE GROUP AGREED THAT THE PRESS STATEMENT SHOULD BE FINALIZED AT THE APRIL 9 AHG MEETING AFTER A STATEMENT ON THE SECURITY OF THE FLANKS (ALONG THE LINES OF PARA 20 OF THE APRIL 9 WESTERN PLENARY STATEMENT) WAS ADDED. THE NETHERLANDS REP AGREED TO DRAFT SUCH A STATEMENT. HE STATED HOWEVER, THAT HE WOULD REFER NOT TO "COMMON GROUND" W
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ARMED FORCES, GROUND FORCES, NEGOTIATIONS, MEETINGS, MEETING PROCEEDINGS, MEETING REPORTS, NUCLEAR WEAPONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 APR 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974VIENNA03267
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740083-1171
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740446/aaaabqbg.tel
Line Count: 311
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 20 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <20 MAR 2002 by collinp0>; APPROVED <07 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: REPORT OF AD HOC GROUP MEETING APRIL 8
TAGS: PARM, XT, XH, UR, CA, US, NATO, WTO, NAC, MBFR
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005